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Canadian Embassy — Ambassade du Canada

Imprensa, Informação, Cultura
Av. da Liberdade, 144-4º
1200 Lisboa

Lisboa, 2 de Junho de 1993

Exmª. Senhora
Dra. Luisa Teotónio Pereira
CIDAC
Rua Pinheiro Chagas, 77-2º Esq.
1000 Lisboa

Exmª. Senhora,

Muito lhe agradecemos toda a ajuda que nos tem dado, incluíndo a lista ontem enviada e, correspondendo ao seu pedido, junto temos o prazer de enviar-lhe a nossa tradução para inglês das declarações de Xanana Gusmão publicadas no jornal "Público" de 21 de Maio de 1993.

Os melhores cumprimentos de,

Maria Judith Peixoto
Adjunta - Imprensa,
Informação, Cultura

anexos
MJP/ii

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XANANA GUSMÃO

Público, May 21, 1993

In the first place, I wish to express my gratitude for the opportunity granted to me to make a statement in complete freedom, i.e. without any coercion of any kind.

I have always affirmed to all those who have raised with me the question of my statements, including the Indonesian Ambassador to the UN, Mr Noegroho, they agreed that the circumstances of my previous statements in Jakarta did not allow them to be credible.

This is the supreme moment for that to happen. I hope that the Indonesian intellectuals understand my state of mind, at this time when I am enjoying freedom of expression, as a result of a right acquired or already held.

I hope that the new generation in Indonesia, or more precisely Indonesian youth, may assume the significance of the law and of freedom, the two fundamental components in life for mankind today and in the society in which we live.

Finally, I hope that the international community realises the validity of all my statements, in the circumstances of time and place under which they were made.

Once more I wish to thank the judge for the fact that I may speak in my own defence.

Ladies and gentlemen of the court

I am Kay Rala Xanana Gusmão, leader of the Maubere Resistance against the cowardly and shameful invasion of December 7, 1975, and the criminal and illegal military occupation of East Timor for the last 17 years.

On November 22 of last year, in Denpassar, I signed a document in which I stated: before international law I remain, as do all Timorese, a Portuguese citizen, and before my own conscience, I am a citizen of East Timor.

In these terms, I reject the competence of any Indonesian court to try me, and much less the jurisdiction of such a court, imposed under force of arms and the blood of my fatherland, East Timor.

I believe that the theory of colonialism says that colonialism is the control exercised over others, with the occupation of their territory, by the imposition of force. (...)

The a priori reasoning of conservative theories, which explained colonialism through the benefits of civilisation, has collapsed with the recognition of the identity of every people.

While legislations arose in every country as the need to regulate the relationships between individuals in a particular society, international law has been born (?) out of the need to harmonise the relationships between peoples and nations.

I believe that Indonesian laws, not being exclusively and explicitly a treatise of traditional Indonesian law, refer to the standards of conventional law.

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

It thus becomes necessary to mention that, with Indonesia being one of the members of the UN, Indonesia has committed itself, before the international community, to respect and contribute towards respect for international law. (...)

In the eyes of the international press, I believe that there is no lack of awareness of a scenario of major political proportions. Otherwise, they have not been true professionals of a free press, in the exact meaning of journalism's sense of smell and taste.

If this has gone unnoticed, I wish here to draw the attention of everyone: I truly feel a stranger in my own country.

In the Polwil [former public security police] jail, I am surrounded exclusively by Indonesians. The officers of the Bais [miltary intelligence] and the members of the Kopassus [red berets] are my guards. I requested the presence of the bishop, and they sent me an Indian priest, who is now in favour of integration.

In the annexes to this building, called the courthouse, I can only see Indonesians, and what is more, military authorities, from the Kopassus and the Bais.

Under Indonesian law, trials of this nature are or should be at public hearings. Every time I enter this room, the public I see here are those military authorities, some of whom are those who set this trial in motion.

As for the Timorese, my compatriots, they are out in the street, under strict surveillance. It is the control by the occupiers which is so flagrantly clear. It is foreign domination, which is manifest in that insolence appropriate to colonialists.

East Timor, the history of a trial.

The case of East Timor is that of responsibility by the international community, a case of international law, a case in which universal principles are compromised, a case in which the UN's standards for decolonisation have been manipulated, a case taking place which demonstrates Indonesia's disrespect for UN resolutions, a case, therefore, of Indonesia's flagrant violation of the principles of the Non-aligned Movement and the universal standards of law, of peace and of justice.

Every Indonesian is, as a principle, compromised by his nation, compromised by the policy of his Government and any interpretation he makes of East Timor is a result of the point of view of the government itself. (...)

For 17 years East Timor, on the other side of the coin, has been the history of the great Indonesian farce. For the last six months I have been tossed around as a pawn in that shameful farce. Whether intelligently or by chance, I shall not be the one to say.

This court intends to try me for crimes committed against the Indonesian State and for illegal possession of arms. I know everything has been arranged for me to be acquitted...

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

Those who should be answering to the international court are:

- in the first place, the Indonesian Government for the crimes committed for the last 17 years in East Timor;

- in the second place, the Governments of the United States, which gave the go-ahead to the invasion on November 7, 1975, and have been granting military aid and political support for Indonesia to carry out genocide in East Timor;

- in the third place (...) Western Europe, for its policy of complicity towards Indonesia;

-finally, the Portuguese Government, for its grave responsibility for decolonisation in East Timor.

The UN recognises as legitimate any means opposed to colonialist presence in any part of the world where the struggle is taking place for the emancipation of a people.

My struggle and the resistance of my people and the Falantil [Timorese Armed Liberation Forces], are within this context, a context which is above Indonesian laws.

Sudjono [the defence attorney], in his additional statement, though he attempted to adopt a more liberal stance, when he questions the "Balibó declaration", does not disassociate himself from the basic problem: the illegal nature of the annexation of Timor, through the use of force.

The key argument in this court is the so-called "process of integration for East Timor". (...)

The attorney's almanac records that, on November 30, 1975, the UDT, Apodeti, Kata and Labour parties signed the proclamation of the integration of East Timor in Indonesia. The same almanac states: "the people of East Timor are responsible for determining their own future". What does the Attorney understand by "determining their own future", or, in other words, "determining their own destiny"?

Inevitably you will respond that you perceive this concept as an act or by means of an act to be carried out in accordance with stipulated rules for the process to be credible.

I would go on to ask: credible for whom?, when it is a question of a process for "determining their own future", carried out by a people? (...)

From the UDT participating in this process have already unmasked the farcical nature of that proclamation, both at the UN and at other international forums.

I recall here that in Denpassar, I was forced to make statements apologising to the INT for the Santa Cruz massacre, carried out by the INT and not by me. I further recall that in Jakarta, I stated that I was prepared to defend myself, according to precise instructions from the puppet "gubernur" [governor] Abílio Osório.

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

Was the formation of the provisional Government in the new Iraqi province of Kuwait credible? Kuwait which maintains ethnic, historical, cultural and religious ties with Iraq which are deeper and closer than any tie that I can recall from as far back as the stone age between the population of East Timor and certain islands of the NTT?

And if the formation of that provisional government in Kuwait was not credible, it was not so in the eyes of whom? Was it not in terms of universal principles of self-determination, was it not in terms of international law? (...)

This court proclaims: "Fretilin dared to impose its will on the People". And because the other parties apparently signed a declaration of integration, the court concludes: "Therefore it was the realisation of the true interests of the People of East Timor!"

Why then were legal elections held in Indonesia? To prove what? To achieve what? If it was never to prove anything, then the "pemilu" [election process] in Indonesia has been a farce. If it was never to achieve anything, the "pemilu" in Indonesia has no political significance and lacks any legal context, as a result/aim of the elections. (...)

This Court must agree with me that it went too far in stating that Fretilin "dared to impose its will on the People" and that the said proclamation of Bali Beach was the realisation of the true will of the People of East Timor!

The statements by this court lack a political element, which would confer the necessary legal context on what we all seek: representativeness of the will and majority of the People.

This is the condition "sine qua non"!

Until this precise point in time, the UN has continued not to recognise Indonesian sovereignty over East Timor, sovereignty achieved by the use of force, by the practice of violence and by the systematic violation of the most basic human rights.

The true facts about the trial.

This Court refers to the date December 17, 1975, as the day a provisional government and local assembly were formed.

If every Indonesian has forgotten, it is my duty to recall here the tragic day, December 7 of that year, when thousands of parachute troops were dropped on Dili and with the support of the marines.

December 7, 1975 was the day that went down in history as the cowardly and shameful Indonesian invasion, the day when the Indonesian troops indiscriminately massacred the defenceless population of Dili, causing thousands of deaths among the old people, women and children, including an Australian journalist.

As the Balibó declaration was signed with the blood of 4 Australian journalists, murdered by Indonesian troops, in the attack on the town of Balibó, the same provisional government was erected over the corpses of the Timorese, massacred between December 7 and 17 of that year.

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

On December 12, Indonesian troops had not yet captured the Aileu/Remexio crossroads. The whole of the month of December saw the advance of the invading troops to capture Aileu. On December 31, 1975, Maubisse still had not been captured.

A government set up, to the sound of bombardment from sea and land, to the sound of advancing tanks and heavy guns. Does a government like this have any legal value? (...)

They attacked men, old people, women and children indiscriminately. They also slaughtered herds of hundreds of cattle and horses. They set fire to everything before them, and destroyed everything.

The same happened later in the Fronor sector which included the districts of Ermera and Liquiçá. The population suffered the same attacks on the population.

The same operations proceeded to the central northern sector, which included the districts of Dili, Aileu and part of Manatuto. Thousands more victims so that the INT could control the population [?].

Then it was the turn of the central southern sector which included the district of Same, as far as Soibada/Barike. In Jakarta, General [illegible], the number two in the Bais, liked to recall his heroism: Saya ambil Laclúbar, saya ambil Soibada, saya ambil Barike, etc, etc.

Acubil in Portuguese, in military terms, means: I seized, I captured. At that time, gentlemen, it was almost two years after the so-called integration, by "free will". (...)

The case of East Timor is not within the Indonesian legal context but in the international legal context, above Indonesian law.

In minimising this context, this Court arrogantly declares, and I quote: "And above all, Fretilin dared to impose its will on the People, by carrying out the proclamation of independence, on November 28". I remind you that the RDTC was being recognised by around twenty countries, and there would have been more, if it were not for the economic interests which link the United States of America, Australia, etc. with Jakarta. (...)

The attorney's almanac records that, on November 30, 1975, the UDT, Apodeti, Kota and Labour parties signed the proclamation of the integration of East Timor in Indonesia. The same almanac states: "the people of East Timor are responsible for determining their own future". What does the Attorney understand by "determining their own future", or, in other words, "determining their own destiny"?

Inevitably you will respond that you perceive this concept as an act or by means of an act to be carried out in accordance with stipulated rules for the process to be credible.

I would go on to ask: credible for whom?, when it is a question of a process for "determining their own future", carried out by a people? (...)

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

In this context, I recall that Saddam Hussein reminded the international community that there was already a precedent in disrespect of the universal principles in the violation of International Law, mentioning expressly East Timor.

What value does Indonesia give to the resolutions of the UN Security Council and GA? A merely political significance or the weight of the legal context, which allowed the Operation Desert Shield?

What value does Indonesia give to the efforts of the UN and the international community to resolve the conflict in the former Yugoslavia?

What value does Indonesia give, in what context does Indonesia place its own contribution to the participation in Cambodia? (...)

Does a government which only retains control over some of the population of Dili, prevented from going up into the mountains of their fatherland, automatically represent the will of the majority of the People of East Timor?

This Court gives unusual importance to the petition of May 31, 1975. That petition was apparently signed by Arnaldo Araújo and Guilherme Gonçalves.

At that time, more than 80 per cent of the population of East Timor was in the mountains of their fatherland, resisting the efforts by the invading troops to take more towns inland. The forecast by the Indonesian strategists that they would take East Timor in 24 hours, coming down to Dili at dawn, having lunch in Baukau and spending the night at Tutuala, was just a fantastic dream on the part of the expansionist generals.

At that time, the Indonesian troops occupied only some of the towns on the main roads, many of which towns having been abandoned. (...)

What sort of control did that puppet government [of Arnaldo Araújo] in fact have, at the time, over the population?

The population dying of hunger and disease, because of the war waged by Indonesia? The population that was being attacked by Indonesian troops, and was being hit by bombardment from the air, land and sea, carried out by the INT [Indonesian national army]?

Could it possibly have been that population which was suffering in the bush, because of the war waged by Indonesia, that population which saw their homes shattered and their property destroyed by the Indonesian forces, who employed scorched earth tactics, was it, could it have been that population which requested, of "their own free will", integration within Indonesia, without a referendum?

Many witnesses, who made statements here, were prevented from making any kind of declaration. As is normal, all the accused had to state they had sold themselves of their own free will. (...)

After these 3 months of my own experience, I have given real weight to the statement by [Bishop] Ximenes Belo, when I met him at Fatumana in 1986: "inside we are totally absorbed", he said.

That is what I saw for myself and continue to see in Indonesian political life.

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

I now return to the process of annexation of East Timor by force of arms.

The Court claimed in its verdict that Fretilin was opposed to the referendum, and in such an act, the people of East Timor had chosen integration. However, in citing that petition, the court mentions that Arnaldo de Araújo and Guilherme Gonçalves requested that General Suharto "should then force parliament to accept and rapidly formulate integration without a referendum"!

In the end, who did not in fact want the referendum? Fretilin or Indonesia in the words of that puppet government?

In the name of what people was that petition signed? (...)

The witness Óscar Lima said here that he had been in the mountains from December 1975 to the end of 1978. If he could have told the truth, he would have stated that he had not surrendered of his own free will but would have explained here about the major strategic operations carried out by the INT, as from September 1977, in order to annihilate the bases of the resistance by the population of East Timor.

I know that the Indonesian public is still misinformed on these aspects and I shall now briefly describe those large-scale military operations, unleashed one year after the so-called integration of East Timor in Indonesia... and, it is stressed, "through the free will of the people"!

As from September 1977, Indonesian battalions supported by Bronco OV aircraft and intense bombardment from land and sea, surrounded the region which included the districts of Suai, Boborano and Ainaro, named the Fró-Sul front.

Thousands of individual civilians were shot dead. (...)

It was these same civilians who, after being captured, continued to die of hunger, disease, and above all, murdered.

Thousands and thousands of citizens of East Timor were murdered throughout almost the whole territory by the occupying forces. The policy has been the rule of terror, so that any intimidated Timorese should say that he is happy with integration.

The price paid for the annexation of East Timor is the price of resistance by the Maubere people. More than two hundred thousand lives were destroyed by the war waged by Indonesia. More than 1/3 of the population of East Timor had to pay the price of their rejection and their repudiation of the presence of the new colonialist power, more repressive still when it acts against the principles not only of the UN, but also the Non-aligned Movement, of which Indonesia was a co-founder and has now assumed the presidency. (...)

The untruths of Indonesian propaganda.

Much has been heard about the backwardness of Portuguese colonialism, as if I myself had not lived through that colonialism.

They wish to point out to me the so-called development in East Timor, as a calculating factor, a statistical factor to be compared with the Portuguese colonial period.

I ask if colonialism can be classified as good and bad. (...)

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

Just because Portugal did not develop East Timor, over 400 years, will we the Timorese have to pay for the mistakes of one colonialist power through the crimes of another?

Nowadays, all the theories worked out on colonialism or on the founding and appearance of new nations must be read in the light of universal principles and international law, enshrined in the United Nations charter.

It is in the light of those principles and of international law that one understands the Indonesian position in the UN, in terms of the following cases:

a - being a member of the UN and by the strict interpretation of the right to self-determination and national independence, Indonesia is, together with Asean, Australia and New Zealand, co-responsible for replacing New Caledonia on the list of non-self-governing territories, four decades after the same territory had been withdrawn from this list;

b - [unintelligible]

c - Through the precise understanding of universal principles, Indonesia condemned the invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam, of Afghanistan by the former Soviet Union, and of Kuwait by Iraq.

d - as a member of the UN, Indonesia is participating in the peacekeeping process in Cambodia, as a contribution which Jakarta owes to the international community for respect for UN resolutions.

The facts, described by Mr. Sudjono, arise from the false interpretation which he is making, as an Indonesian citizen, tied to the policy of his government. In any case, he was named by the Bais, and consequently by the Indonesian government. On December 22 last, I was able to read a letter addressed to me by the LBH [a prestigious organisation for Indonesian legal aid]. On the 23rd, I replied to that Organisation accepting a lawyer. I was forced to recant and on the 30th of the same month, I had to write a letter to the LBH, refusing the offer. My letter, which was retained, was returned to me. (...)

Jakarta, sometimes, likes to make the definition that the factor of demarcation of frontiers by colonialism is only valid for Africa, and thus is not applicable in Asia.

This argument is absurd when we note that Indonesia itself inherited a territory resulting from this factor, imposed by colonialism.

Let us see: the island of Borneo is divided, the North belonging to Malaysia, the South to Indonesia and an enclave recently become independent, Brunei.

In Papua New Guinea, the Western part is called Irian Jaya and belongs to Indonesia, and the Eastern half is an independent state, Papua New Guinea.

If an Irianjayan considers himself as being of the same family as a Javan, it is not up to me to comment, since I am not related to the Irianjayans, and even less to the Javans.

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

3. Realism and idealism

I have contacted Irianjayan officers who spoke to me of the great Indonesian family and I felt sickened inside. I met a Sumatran, a translator with the Bais, who spoke Portuguese and only had praise and thanks for his Javanese brothers, and I felt disgusted with myself. I met officers from Sulawesi who lectured me on Indonesian "standards", and I felt empty inside.

The concept of "realpolitik" has for me gained a new dimension: political realism is political subservience, and is the denial of the actual individual conscience, and means the death of the people's conscience.

I well understand that today, as in the past, Indonesia is frightened of so much: the so-called ideological anachronism/orthodoxism of ethnic groups, which is the driving force behind the wars in Yugoslavia and in the republics of the former Soviet Union.

It is not theories which are proving history, it is history which is validating the true theories and denouncing the false ones. (...)

Mankind aspires to a supreme ideal: the self-fulfilment of the individual and of peoples, within a broad context of freedom of the law, of justice and peace.

Political realism is a theory imposed by the powerful, and it is the concept which has subverted and is subverting these standards. Political realism is a concept which gives the right only to those who are bigger or stronger, to act in the name of their own interests, restraining the small and the defenceless from being able to defend themselves, from being able to refuse and being able to fight back.

When one speaks of political realism, implicitly one speaks of inequality of circumstances, of inequality of conditions between two sides involved in any process. And it is this inequality that requires the small and weak to appear as faithful apprentices of political realism. (...)

Political inflexibility or arrogance of the Indonesian generals.

On the very day of my capture, at the meeting held with General Try Sutrisno, I outlined the question of dialogue with the representatives of the people of East Timor. One, out of the twenty or so generals present who were congratulating themselves on the prospect of the imminence of an easy victory, asked angrily: [unintelligible]. When I replied "Let's take it to a referendum", the Indonesian generals swallowed their own pride.

The next day, November 21, already in Denpassar, the wife of the local Panglima [military commander], having been surprised with the extent of the support I had, exclaimed: "Lots of people supported him after all!" A high-ranking officer told her: "maybe it's support from outside".

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

At the time of the interrogations at the Bais, in Jakarta, I realised the following:

1 - the war in East Timor is essentially a subject for the Bais and not a political subject in government circles in Jakarta, as is supposed;

2 - [unintelligible]

3 - The Bais is a powerful machine of the Indonesian political police, whose sinister tentacles are the kopassus.

4 - The Indonesian military do not accept any politics other than that of Dec. 7, 1925.

In my case, both the Bais and the Indonesian government decided to play with the least possible risk by manipulating my whole process. In order to manage to get this far here today and speak like this, I also assumed the risks inherent in my struggle.

I have always told everyone: "you're talking to Xanana, and not to one of Xanana's angottas [subordinates]". (...)

My own situation, with strict control on all my movements, reminds me of the situation of absolute control over the heroic young people of East Timor after the cowardly massacre of Sta. Cruz.

At the Polwil, where they try to flatter me with exaggerated attention, the inscriptions made by the prisoners, my companions, on the prison walls, are a constant reminder to me of the suffering of many compatriots, subjected to ill treatment of every kind and remind me at every moment of that unforgettable day, November 12, 1991.

What was the aim of the peaceful demonstration on November 12? To remind Jakarta and to remind the world of the need for dialogue, and remind the world that there is something wrong in the case of East Timor. (...)

This whole process of my trial is a subject for the Bais, whose officers fill this room observing everything and everyone.

Jakarta should long ago have been ashamed of its criminal acts in East Timor, long ago should have recognised what it lost in East Timor.

The Indonesian generals should realise they have been beaten in East Timor.

Here and now, as Commander of the Falantil, the exalted Armed Forces for the National Liberation of East Timor, I recognise the military defeat on the ground. I am not ashamed to say it, on the contrary, I am proud of the fact that a small guerrilla army could resist a large nation like Indonesia, the regional power which invaded us in a cowardly fashion, and wishes to subjugate us through terror and criminal tactics, through the law of violence, with persecutions, imprisonment, tortures, murders.

The time has come for Jakarta to recognise its political defeat on the ground. I do not know whether it is to impress me but they have placed armed "tentaras" [?] on the route between the Polwil and the court. (...)

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

A break with the current situation is a historical necessity. If that is not done today, the future will witness the irreversible nature of change.

What is irreversible is not what is imposed at the time, whether in the short or the long term, by force of arms. The irreversible is the correction which history makes to the errors of the ambitious, the crimes of dictators, the atrocities of the colonialists.

The collapse of the former Soviet empire has demonstrated that policies achieved under pressure of arms have not stood the test of time.

The gigantic wheel of history has confirmed, is confirming and will confirm this fact, and the wheel of history has crushed European colonialism and cannot accept new ways of dominating peoples.

The wheel of history has crushed oppressive regimes, expansionist states. (...)

Reason does not come from force. Reason in itself is inoffensive. And reason is on my side, on the side of my People.

I appeal to the Indonesian People to understand that, according to universal principles and in accordance with international law, East Timor is considered a non-self-governing territory, under the standards which govern the process of decolonisation. To understand that the problem of East Timor is not the spectre which haunts the minds of the Indonesian generals, the spectre that East Timor is a source of threats, a factor for insecurity for Indonesia. The story that East Timor is Communist is too old to be up-to-date.

The problem is not that we want to overthrow Indonesia, the problem is that East Timor has never been Indonesian. (...)

On the first day, as on the days that followed, they asked me if I considered myself Indonesian and I always replied like this: if I say yes, the bapaks [Indonesians] will not believe it. At first they turned/laughed [?], but then they gnashed their teeth.

The Indonesian generals are not concerned with people's spirit, with their conscience. They are immediately satisfied when we do just as they want. I do not know if this is ingenuousness or if it is military cultural training.

In Jakarta I know the Bais made the necessary arrangements for me not to receive the death sentence and, if I cheer for integration, I shall be acquitted. I remember in Jakarta, for a change in the daily record of all my movements inside the cell, they took me handcuffed to the city centre and showed me the gold on the Monas - the Indonesian National Monument. I felt like shouting to my jailers that I would never sell my soul for the gold that covers the Monas. (...)

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

They mercilessly and without pity massacred more than a hundred young people protesting against the illegal situation of the annexation of East Timor, by the use of force, protesting against the regime of terror, against the situation of intimidation and persecutions set up as from September 1991, those Indonesian soldiers are proud of having brutally suppressed a rebellion.

This Court has condemned the victims, and at the Polwil the prisoners were inhumanly mistreated. You just have to look at the witnesses present here and those in prison. They are extremely thin.

Have those responsible for the murder by any chance answered for their crime in this Court? What application, what value has the law which allowed this Court to close its eyes to the horrendous crime of November 12?

What moral value, what standard of justice does the Indonesian government have to declare criminals as heroes and, on the other hand, condemn the victims? (...)

I continue to recall here the need for dialogue, with the participation of the Timorese. I have always told anyone who will listen that the Maubere people do not appreciate the so-called "pembangunan" [development]. The problem is that it is not free. Freedom is a notion of my People and is the objective of their struggle.

D. Ximenes Belo expressed himself clearly when he wrote to the UN Secretary-General: "We are dying as a People and a Nation".

The Indonesian ambassador to the UN came to seek my collaboration. He asked me to be consistent in my statements. I have noticed that the Indonesians have completely forgotten that I have fought for many years and to be consistent, I should be so towards my People and never towards the murderers of my People (...)

I appeal to the younger generation of Indonesians to understand that the People of East Timor values freedom, justice and peace much more highly than the so-called development carried out here, with help from Australia and the USA and other European countries which maintain very close economic relations with Jakarta.

I appeal to the international community to consider that the exact time has come to prove that we are really faced with a new world order. This presupposes deeds which show a break with situations inherited from earlier times. I appeal to the European Community to follow through their own resolutions and also follow through the resolutions concerning East Timor.

I appeal to all the friends of East Timor, European, American, Japanese and Australian parliamentarians to pressure their governments towards the policy of 2 weights and 2 measures. (...)

I appeal to President Bill Clinton to reconsider the problem of East Timor and pressure Jakarta to accept dialogue with the Portuguese and Timorese, in search of an internationally acceptable solution.

XANANA GUSMÃO (Cont.)

I appeal to the Secretary-General of the UN, in the solution he seeks for East Timor, that he always allow universal principles and International Law to prevail.

Lastly, I appeal to the Indonesian Government to modify its attitude and to consider that the exact time has come to understand the essence of the struggle in East Timor.

No agreement can be made between the prisoner and his jailer.

As from today, I am beginning a hunger strike, as a practical way of appealing to the EEC, and to the governments of the USA and Australia.

Dili, March 27, 1993
Xanana Gusmão